

Table 1—Forty sites posing health risks under current land uses that have not warranted removal action

Environmental medium that posed health risks	Number
Groundwater	18
Soil	13
Sediment	2
Air	1
Surface water	0
Multiple media	6
Total	40

Source: GAO's analysis of data from EPA's RELAI data base.

AGENCY COMMENTS

We requested that EPA provide comments on a draft of this report. On June 19, 1995, we met with officials from EPA's OERR, including the Chief, Response Operations Branch, to obtain the agency's comments on the draft report. The officials told us that they were generally satisfied that the information presented in the report is accurate. The officials provided additional perspectives on several issues discussed in the report and also suggested technical corrections on a few matters. We revised the draft report to incorporate these comments.

SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY

To provide information on the extent to which Superfund sites may pose serious health risks under current land uses and on the nature of those risks, we analyzed pertinent information from EPA's most comprehensive data base on the health risks from Superfund sites. While we did not independently verify the accuracy of EPA's data, we reviewed the agency's data collection and verification guidelines and internal quality assurance procedures, and determined these internal controls to be adequate. We worked closely with EPA officials to ensure a proper interpretation and analysis of the data. Although the Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry—the Public Health Service agency responsible for identifying health problems in the communities around Superfund sites—also assesses sites' health risks, we did not analyze the agency's evaluation data on Superfund sites for this report because of time constraints.

To provide information on whether EPA's short-term response actions have reduced the health risks from Superfund sites, we obtained EPA's data on the removal actions that have occurred at the 71 sites where current health risks existed. Although we did not verify this information, we discussed the information and EPA's removal policy and actions with officials from OERR's Response Standards and Criteria and Response Operations branches.

We performed our work between April and June 1995 in accordance with generally accepted government auditing standards.

As arranged with your office, unless you publicly announce this report's contents earlier, we plan no further distribution until 10 days after the date of this letter. At that time, we will send copies to the Administrator, EPA; the Director, Office of Management and Budget; and other interested parties. We will also make copies available to others on request.

The major contributors to this report are listed in appendix I. If you or your staff have any questions about this report, please call me at (202) 512-6111.

Sincerely yours,

PETER F. GUERRERO,

Director, Environmental Protection Issues.

APPENDIX I—MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS REPORT

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FOOTNOTES

¹The Congress created the Superfund program under the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act (CERCLA), which authorized the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), among other things, to clean up contamination at the nation's hazardous waste sites. EPA places the sites it considers to be the most severely contaminated on the NPL for cleanup.

²The Total Costs of Cleaning Up Nonfederal Superfund Sites, CBO (Washington, D.C.: Jan. 1994).

³EPA considers the risk serious enough to warrant cleanup if (1) an individual has more than a 1 in 10,000 chance of developing cancer from exposure to the site's contaminants or (2) if exposure to the site's contaminants might exceed the level humans can tolerate without developing other ill health effects, such as birth defects or nerve or liver damage.

⁴According to officials in EPA's Office of Emergency and Remedial Response, while permanent removal actions are preferred over temporary measures, EPA must consider several factors, including competing needs at other sites, in determining the appropriate removal action for a site.

⁵At some sites, EPA may take removal actions before the risk assessment occurs, which could reduce somewhat the risk estimated in the baseline assessment of the site.

⁶According to EPA officials, the Superfund program is supposed to address significant health risks under both current and future land uses. About 85 percent of sites in the RELAI data base meet EPA's criteria for serious health risk under either current or future land uses. •

FIRE, READY, AIM

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, the Bosnian policy of the United States is lacking in backbone and commitment.

I confess, it discourages me.

I am not the only one who is discouraged.

A column by Tom Friedman appeared in the Sunday July 30, 1995, New York Times that is, unfortunately, on target. And I ask that it be printed in the RECORD.

The article follows:

[From the New York Times, July 30, 1995]

FIRE, READY, AIM

(By Thomas L. Friedman)

Washington: Lost in the commotion about the Senate vote to lift the arms embargo on Bosnia, and President Clinton's threat to veto such a move, is a small fact of some importance: Both the President's policy and the Congress's policy duck the real issue in Bosnia and are formulas for continued war.

What are our real interests in Bosnia? They are four: halt the killing, prevent the conflict from spreading, prevent the conflict from turning into a Christian-Muslim holy war and insure that it does not end in a way that permanently damages America's ties with its European allies, NATO and Russia.

The only way to realize those objectives is for the U.S. and its allies to draw up a map that divides Bosnia roughly along the lines of the NATO-Russia Contact Group proposal—50 percent Serb, 50 percent Muslim-Croat—and then use all necessary force, including bombing Belgrade if necessary, to impose those cease-fire lines on all the parties.

But, you might say, that would drag the U.S. into the war. Hey, we're already in the war. The U.S. and NATO last week committed to using their air power to defend a Muslim safe haven from further murderous

Serbian attacks. Well, if we are ready to use what Defense Secretary William Perry called "massive" air bombardments to defend an isolated Muslim safe haven, why not use them to defend a cease-fire and a settlement map that could stop the killing altogether? Why not use them to defend a peace plan that would establish a Bosnian Muslim state centered around Sarajevo, next to a Bosnian Serb entity that would be federated with Serbia and a Bosnia Croat entity that would be federated with Croatia?

Moreover, since we want the British, French and U.N. to keep their peacekeeping troops in Bosnia, and they are willing, why not have them use their power to oversee a partition plan and cease-fire lines, instead of to just oversee further carnage?

Usually countries decide their war aims first and commit their military power second. The Clinton Administration has done just the reverse. It has decided to get involved militarily in Bosnia, but with no clearly defined plan for achieving America's basic interests. If we are going to enter this war, it should only be to end this war—and the only way to do that is through some form of partition.

Of course it would be preferable to have a pluralistic, multi-ethnic Bosnian society and state, where everyone lives together. But the parties had that once. It was called Yugoslavia, and the Serbs, Muslims and Croats all helped to rip that state apart. That is why the only way to stabilize things now is to divide Bosnia among them.

But instead, the Administration and Congress are posturing. The Administration doesn't want to lift the arms embargo, but it also doesn't want to impose any settlement, because it fears that would involve America too deeply and because it knows it would mean accepting the very partition plans it advised the Muslims for years to reject. The Clinton Administration wants more of the status quo because its only clear goal is to get through November 1996 without U.S. troops in Bosnia.

The Congress, by contrast, just wants to get through the evening news. It wants to feel good about lifting the embargo, but does not want to recognize that this will only trigger a heavier Serbian onslaught against the Muslims, which they will only be able to resist in the short term with the help of direct Western military intervention, which is precisely the sort of deep involvement Congress is actually trying to avoid.

With the Administration plan the Muslims lose slowly. With the Congress plan the Muslims lose quickly.

Neither the Administration nor the Congress wants to recognize what the Europeans already have—that the ideal multi-ethnic, democratic Bosnia, if it were ever possible, cannot be achieved now. The only way to achieve it would be to force the Serbs, Muslims and Croats to live together under one roof, which they demonstrably do not want to do. None of the parties right now are fighting to live together. They are each fighting for ethnic survival or independence.

We can lament the idea of a multiethnic, pluralistic Bosnia but we cannot build it from the raw material at hand. The only sane thing left is to stop the killing and build the least bad peace around the Bosnia we have, which is one in which Serbs, Croats and Muslims live apart until they can learn again to live together. •

THE 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE 19TH AMENDMENT

• Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President. It is my pleasure to submit for the RECORD, Executive Order 95-32, issued by the